1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

2: Stirling--76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 439

"In concluding this discussion of shrunken heads, a word should be said concerning counterfeit tsantsas. It is probably safe to say that the majority of specimens now in private collections, and even in many scientific museums, are of fraudulent origin. Formerly it was not easy to induce the Jivaros to part with their tsantsas. However, in recent years, the more or less standard price of a gun for a head became established between traders and the Indians. To discourage this traffic, both the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Governments have passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Nevertheless, as might be expected, a good many are smuggled out. The majority of the heads which leave the country, however, were never in the hands of the Jivaros but were prepared by various individuals from the bodies of unclaimed paupers to supply the constant demand of tourists and travelers."

2: Stirling--76-77 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 439, 727

"The trade of manufacturing imitation tsantsas has been pursued for at least 75 years at various places in Ecuador, in Colombia, and in Panama. The first reference to this profitable form of taxidermy is by Philippi, (7) in 1872, who calls attention to the activities of a white man living on the borders of the Jivaro country. This man, having learned the method of preparation from the Indians, had made and sold two such heads which Philippi had seen. Philippi's description and illustrations of an acknowledged fraudulent specimen shows the difficulty, in some cases, where Jivaro techniques are closely followed, of detecting spurious examples. [77]

Ambrosetti, (8) in 1903, published another less clever imitation, and Rivet, (9) who discusses this matter at some length, illustrates an example which he secured in Quito, made by a student in Loja."

"7. Philippi, 1872b, p. 343.
8. Ambrosetti, 1903, pp. 519-523, pl. IV.
9. Rivet, 1908, pl. I, fig. 1."

"In most instances it is not difficult to detect the frauds. The Jivaros have a somewhat stereotyped method of distorting the features by pulling out the lips and spreading the nostrils, producing a false prognathism and giving the impression of a retreating chin. The forehead is compressed laterally and at the level of the temples there are two depressions, probably resulting from the technique of grasping the head at these points while preparing it. Most of the counterfeit heads reproduce the features much more naturally than the genuine specimens, preserving the aspect of the features more nearly as they were in life.

Many of the false specimens do not have the facial down removed, nor are they polished. The Jivaros usually singe off this fine hair and polish the skin. Likewise, some of the counterfeiters fail to blacken the skin. This black color is superficial, however, and in old or worn specimens the yellow color of the skin is often exposed.

On most of the genuine examples there is a median posterior incision extending from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed. Sometimes there are two lateral cuts going up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and Rivet (12) describes

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"12. Rivet, 1908, p. 80."

one in which the posterior incision does not disjoin the cervical section but is in the form of an occipital buttonhole.

The nature of these incisions is not a safe criterion in judging specimens, as similar techniques are employed by the counterfeiters. However, the method of sewing the incision may often tell the tale. [78] The counterfeiter usually does a more skillful job of sewing than the Jivaro, having finer tools, and generally uses a much finer fiber than the Indians, or he may even substitute thread.

The Jivaros invariably pierce the crown of the head with a circular hole through which the suspension cord is passed. Sometimes there are two such holes placed along the median line of the crown. The counterfeiter usually omits these perforations.

The Jivaro specimens likewise have the lips perforated vertically; as a rule with three or four holes made by passing through the chonta pins to prevent the mouth from warping during preparation. Sometimes the pins remain in place with cotton cord lashings; sometimes they are removed and the lips tied together with cotton strings, often with long ornamental pendant tassels. During the present century, in order to enhance the 'showiness' of their products, it has become the frequent practice of counterfeiters to decorate their tsantsas with feather headdresses and similar ornaments, a practice never followed by the Jivaros. The only decorations ever seen on genuine tsantsas are the lip cords, which sometimes have a few beetle wings or feathers attached, and occasionally small toucan feathers are attached to miniature tubes in the ear lobes, but not through the rims of the

ears as is done by one counterfeiter.

Occasionally, as Up de Graff has indicated, counterfeiters shrink an entire body after the fashion of a tsantsa. Most of these specimens have evidently originated in Panama. Von Hassel states that a tribe exists in the region of the Cusicuari, Rio Negro, and Orinoco who reduce entire bodies in this manner. However, if his information in this regard is no more accurate than it was when he recorded that the Aguarunas reduce human heads to a fifth their size, more or less with hot stones and the smoke of a bonfire of the roots of certain palms, saying, 'This smoke, which has the same quality as alum, contracts and reduces the head to the size they desire', we may well discount the former statement.

Rivet encountered an Ecuadorian who told him that in exchange for an old gun he had persuaded a Jivaro to shrink an entire body for him. This brings up a final type of counterfeiting most difficult of all to detect, namely, occasional shrunken heads prepared by the Jivaros for trade or to order, which are not actually tsantsas at all."

12: Rivet--593 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 462, 439

Generally-speaking, the Jíbaro depends very little on foreign industry. It is the women who mold the various household pots with the aid of a simple wooden palette, glaze them with the juice of certain plants, and bake them in an open fire, it is they who spin and weave the clothes, while the husband makes his magnificent ornaments himself. We shall see that he does not show less skill and patience in the manufacture of his weapons and hunting implements.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[9] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jivaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xívaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circumstances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:

In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri huará*] lived near the Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who were kilts like the *huará*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jívaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huará* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the *šuarä*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 574 765 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

[231] [146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *nisuú*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

231 [224] [241] [726] [825]

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

[784] [276]

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa macit* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; and the *kayem macit* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa macit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously.

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves.

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating. Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other personal effects. Matting is unknown.

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Winchester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the cartridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

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The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *awigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *awigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *awigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *awigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

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These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jivaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jivaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

438 to the east and southeast. In its total extent, this network of
• 439 Indian trading partners apparently stretches from the foot of
441 the Andes in the west to near Iquitos on the Amazon in the east, and from the Río Napo in the north to the Río Marañon in the south. Its most complex and intensive manifestations occur in the isolated interior, where the native distribution system is uninterrupted by white traders or colonization.

Trade in the interior involves two kinds of commodities about equally: white-manufactured valuables (*apuĭ kuir*) and Indian-manufactured valuables (*kuar kuir*), the latter particularly from the Achuara tribe. The frontier Jivaro west of the Curucú mountain range, who are in direct contact with the whites at Macas, Sucúa, and other smaller settlements, obtain the Western-manufactured items primarily by engaging in wage labor for the whites. These then are carried over the Curucú range by means of several different foot trails.

The Achuara people to the east, lacking any such direct source of large quantities of steel cutting tools and guns, have to trade with the interior Jivaro to obtain them. The Achuara, for their part, have a near monopoly on the manufacture of blowguns and curare, and produce feather ornaments which are highly esteemed by the Jivaro. The Achuara also supply various monkeys, parrots, and marmosets, as well as such items as woven kilts, ornamental earsticks, and native beadwork. In addition, they are the sole suppliers of glass beads, which, for an unknown reason, are available in the Peruvian Amazon, but not in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Except for these glass beads and some .44 caliber cartridges, Achuara trade in items from Peru is severely limited, apparently because the only native-produced goods in which the Peruvians are interested are jaguar, ocelot, and especially peccary hides. The geographical isolation of the Achuara

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manu- 438
factured goods by entering into any labor relationship with 439 •
whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them 438
with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant 317
rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon 441
far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro
to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in
the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mango-
siza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and
Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of 438
men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit 439
each other every two and a half to four months. The visit- 441
ing trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from
the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and
shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-
made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their 441
essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and there- 572
after address one another in the diminutive as "little friend,"
i.e., *amiki*. While the term *amigui* is the third person possessive
form of *amigi*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the develop-
ment and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4]
Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after 441
a series of informal visits, during which they may have 431
exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the 572
shuaraiñiu trading partnership, each spends two or more
months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's
neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a
cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties
are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

In this first exchange of goods between *awigri*, and also in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *awigri*. When the former host (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *awigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

Awigri are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods with each other, at least over a period of several months, if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tsuwapi*)

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, *it is apparently* unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *awigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *awigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back. [441] [628] [721]

In the Río Canguimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *amigri* named Hintai was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *amigri*, Mukúlam, of the *yawarus* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Ayuáli, in the *Aenap* neighborhood. Finally, Ayuáli then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos. [439]

In the other direction, west from the Río Canguimi neighborhood, Hintai was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cunimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *amigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kalinhint, in the Cunimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kalinhint, in turn, traded with Wampiserurk west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampiserurk obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa. [439]

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14. Man with *tzumar* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1916-17).

11. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *tzumar* in place.

/p. 138-9/

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [595] [439] [764]

796 571 554 765 The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

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The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a *miñke* ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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digging of footholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins stomping to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

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Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

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In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chigüaza region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 • 439 197 765 532 727 778 [825] 6. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 61–62; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78, and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 7. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER 15

[821] 1. The appearance of this canoe is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vasco Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56, and oral historical records by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

[114] 1. I am indebted to Pedro Shakes and Peter Hurt for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.